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ABSTRACT

Administrative characteristics for 301 nationally representative institutions are related to faculty support of activism (in attitude and in behavior) and indicate that faculty may provide the link between the incidence of campus unrest and institutional characteristics, independent of student body attributes. The consistently observed relationship between institutional quality measures and the incidence of unrest is considered in relation to faculty as well as student attributes. The results are discussed in terms of a currently employed model for a program of research on campus unrest that encompasses the totality of factors, both endogeneous and exogeneous, and that contribute to the incidence of protest. Alternative hypotheses of the impact of faculty on campus unrest are considered, additional necessary research on the role of faculty is specified, and other programmatic analyses currently underway on the various components of the research model are briefly noted. (Author)

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# Institutional Correlates of Faculty Support of Campus Unrest

ALAN E. BAYER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
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EDUCATION

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# INSTITUTIONAL CORRELATES OF FACULTY SUPPORT OF CAMPUS UNREST

Alan E. Bayer

ACE RESEARCH REPORTS

Vol. 6 , No. 1
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Abstract

Administrative characteristics for 301 nationally representative institutions are related to faculty support of activism (in attitude and in behavior) and indicate that faculty may provide the link between the incidence of campus unrest and institutional characteristics, independent of student body attributes. The consistently observed relationship between institutional quality measures and the incidence of unrest is considered in relation to faculty as well as student attributes. The results are discussed in terms of a currently employed model for a program of research on campus unrest which encompasses the totality of factors, both endogeneous and exogeneous, which contribute to the incidence of protest. Alternative hypotheses of the impact of faculty on campus unrest are considered, additional necessary research on the role of faculty is specified, and other programmatic analyses currently underway on the various components of the research model are briefly noted.

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# Institutional Correlates of Faculty Support of Campus Unrest[1]

A substantial number of empirical studies on campus unrest have appeared in the literature in recent years. Dunlap (1969), in his comprehensive bibliography of such studies, indicates that the overwhelming majority have focused on the social and psychological characteristics of student activists, though a few (Bayer and Astin, 1969; Scott and El-Assal, 1969; Hodgkinson, 1970) have dealt with the institution's administrative characteristics (e.g., type, control, size, selectivity, location) and a few (Sasajima, Davis, and Peterson, 1968; Astin, 1968b) with environmental attributes as assessed by Pace's (1963) College and University Environmental Scales (CUES) and by Astin's (1968a) Inventory of College Activities (ICA). Current research has drawn on the results of these earlier studies in order to ascertain to what extent characteristics of the student body explain the observed relationships between incidence of campus unrest and institutional administrative and environmental characteristics (Astin, 1970; Astin and Bayer, 1971; Kahn and Bowers, 1970). The conclusion from these studies is that certain institutional characteristics, independent of student attributes, are consistently related to campus unrest.

There is, however, no immediately obvious explanation as to why, for example, universities, large institutions, and public colleges experience more unrest than would be expected on the basis of the characteristics of their students. While such institutions may provide a physical structure conducive

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[1]This research was supported by Grant 1 R12 MH17, 084-03 from the National Institute of Mental Health. Faculty data were derived from a study which was initiated, designed, and carried out by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in cooperation with the American Council on Education and supported by the Carnegie Commission and the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the funding agencies or affiliated organizations and no official endorsement by these organizations or agencies should be inferred. Alexander W. Astin and Robert F. Boruch provided valuable suggestions for changes in an earlier draft of the manuscript.

to unrest, it is also feasible that the explanation lies with the types of persons, other than students, who are part of the academic community and with the kind of environment they tend to foster or mold. Either the administrators at such institutions may exercise their authority in a way which is conducive to incidents of campus unrest, or such institutions may attract faculty who play an instrumental or catalytic role. In several sections of the recent report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970), both the faculty and administrators are noted to act in a manner which may be conducive to unrest and which might foster campus politicization. In the report, faculty are regarded as playing a dual role: some give support and provide leadership for activists; others give rise to unrest through neglect of their varied roles and responsibilities as members of the campus community. On the basis of recent hearings before the House Special Subcommittee on Education, Congresswoman Edith Green (1970) also reports that faculty are alleged to be the members of the campus community who provide the impetus and who largely sustain activist movements. But little empirical evidence exists to support -- or refute -- such allegations. This paper is one of a series of reports to deal with the question of the faculty role in campus unrest (see also Boruch, 1969; Boruch, 1970; Bayer, 1970a). It is of an exploratory nature, relating institutional characteristics to faculty approval of campus activism and faculty participation in campus unrest.

## A Model for Campus Unrest Research

The American Council on Education (ACE) is currently undertaking a three-year research program on campus unrest and change, supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. Its framework is not student unrest but rather campus unrest; it encompasses the totality of contemporary factors,

both endogeneous and exogeneous, which contribute to the incidence of campus unrest. Additionally, the research program is focused on the impact or consequences of campus unrest as well as its causes or antecedents.

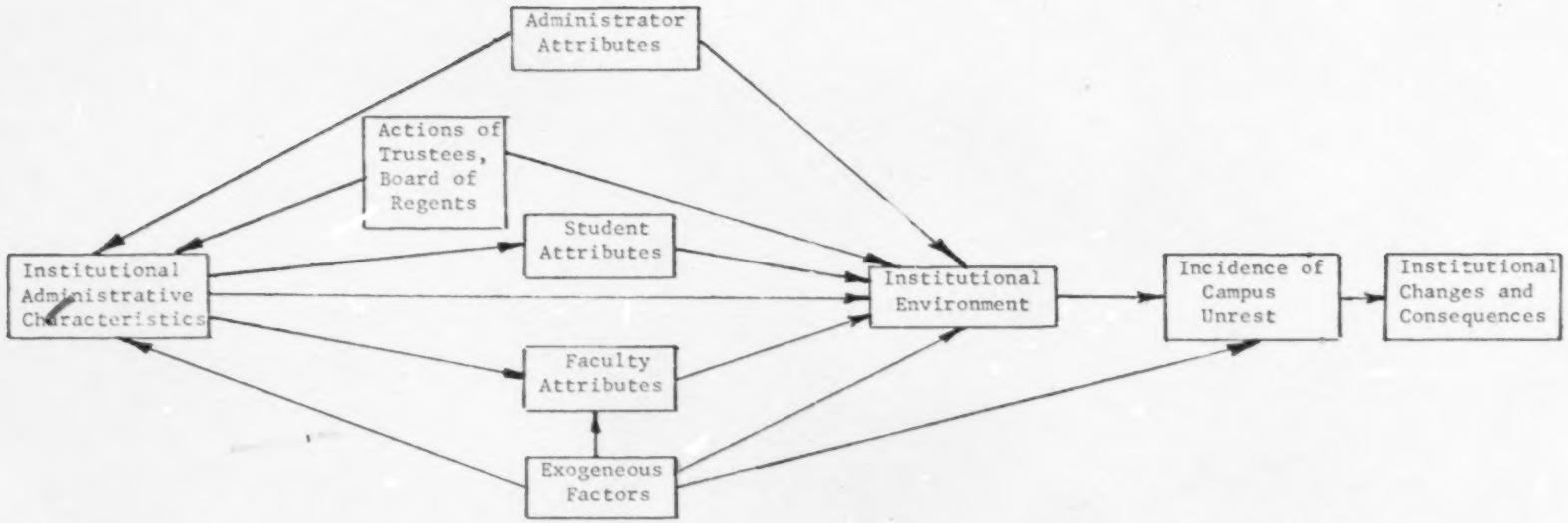
Analysis of campus unrest is based on a view of higher education as a system of interacting components, as shown in Figure 1. The institutional environment -- the sum of the structures, functions, and actors that make up the college campus -- is viewed as the endogeneous determinant of unrest. The administrative structure of the institution; the characteristics and roles of the students, faculty, administrators, and trustees; and the exogeneous factors which interact to determine the environment, are viewed as antecedent variables. The directionality and interactions indicated in Figure 1 show the relationships currently under investigation in the ACE research program; several other plausable alternatives could be hypothesized.

Although, as mentioned above, most campus unrest research has focused either on institutional characteristics or on the student, this model calls for other perspectives as well. Most particularly, it does not view higher education as a closed system. Exogeneous factors are considered to be important at all junctures in the system: for example, state legislative appropriations may partially determine the institution's administrative structure; geographic location may have some bearing on student and faculty characteristics; the characteristics of the surrounding community may affect the institutional environment; and the mass media, public reactions, and state and Federal policies may to some extent determine the incidence, severity, and focus of campus unrest.

To analyze such a complex system, a mixed research strategy and methodology is required. Consequently, the ACE research program has relied on a number of data-collecting techniques, including institutional case studies, intensive

FIGURE 1

The ACE Model for Research on Campus Unrest



interviews, content analysis of newspaper reports, cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys, and reference to a large number of secondary sources. These data are currently being combined in various ways to assess the different links shown in the research model. This exploratory paper assesses the relationship between institutional data derived from secondary sources and recent faculty survey data on approval of campus activism and involvement in campus unrest. Projected future studies in this series will probe more deeply into the correlates of faculty activism and into the role of administrators and trustees, and of persons who are not members of the campus community ("professional activists," the police, the press, and politicians).

## Data Sources

Data from the 1969 Carnegie/ACE national survey of 100,000 college and university faculty (see Bayer, 1970a) were matched with the ACE master file of institutional characteristics (see Creager and Sell, 1969). The merging of these two sources resulted in a file of 301 sample institutions for which data were available on all primary institutional administrative variables and on institutionally aggregated faculty data regarding involvement in campus unrest and approval of student activism.[2]

### Institutional Measures

Twenty institutional variables, many of which have been shown in previous research to be related to the incidence of campus unrest, were selected

[2]These institutions were selected on the basis of a differential stratified random sampling design (see Creager, 1968). Universities, for example, are deliberately oversampled; two-year colleges are underrepresented. Consequently, the sample of 301 institutions employed in this paper for regression purposes is not entirely representative of the population of institutions, although it is reasonably representative for purposes of correlational analyses insofar as the diversity of the institutions is maintained, and their characteristics are only slightly skewed from the distribution in the total population.

for analysis. Included are fifteen dichotomous measures based on the following variables: level (two-year, four-year, university); type (liberal arts, teachers college, technological); race (a single dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the institution is predominantly black); control (public, private-nonsectarian, Catholic, Protestant); and geographic region (Northeast, Southeast, Midwest, and West). The following five continuous variables were also used: size (coded into eight enrollment categories); percent Ph.D.s on faculty; size of library (number of volumes, coded into eleven categories); affluence (total revenues in dollars per student, coded into nine categories); and selectivity (median student body score on the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test - NMSQT - or equivalent, coded into seven categories). (See Creager and Sell, 1969, for further specification of the measures, the categories, and data sources.)

Faculty Measures

The March 1969 national survey of college and university faculty included a number of attitudinal and behavioral items relating to campus unrest. Responses indicated that, nationally, more than two-fifths (42.1 percent) of faculty generally approved of the emergence of radical student activism, and 7.9 percent had openly supported or actually participated in a recent campus demonstration (Bayer, 1970a, p. 21).

These item responses were aggregated by institution, and four measures were derived. The first two are measures of faculty activism:

1. Absolute number of faculty members within the institution who had played an active role in a recent demonstration (i.e., helped to plan or organize, joined in, or openly supported the incident).
2. Proportion of all faculty at the institution who had played an active role in a recent demonstration.

The second two are measures of faculty approval of student activism:

3. Absolute number of faculty members within the institution who stated that they "unreservedly approve," or "approve with reservations" the "emergence of radical student activism in recent years."
4. Proportion of all faculty at the institution who expressed approval of the emergence of student activism.

The absolute number of faculty who are involved in or approve of campus activism is, of course, highly correlated with institutional size. However, such a metric is necessary for our purposes, since it may be that a "critical mass" of activist faculty are instrumental in giving rise to campus unrest. That is, a "core" group of faculty may be a necessary (and sufficient) condition for provoking an incident of campus unrest. An alternative explanation, albeit one that does not rule out the "critical mass" hypothesis, is the "saturation" hypothesis: the proportionate number of faculty who approve or participate in campus protest is directly related to the intensity and frequency of campus incidents. Such an index is, by definition, largely independent of institutional size.

Consequently, the analyses reported in this paper relate institutional administrative characteristics to both the absolute and the proportionate numbers of faculty who are supportive of campus activism, either in their attitudes or behavior. Future analyses will incorporate the results from this paper, linking these data with student data, relating them to measures of the institutional environment, and collating these environmental variables with information on the incidence and severity of campus unrest, as shown schematically in Figure 1.

## Results

For descriptive purposes, the results for the 301 sample institutions were statistically weighted so that the distribution would approximate the distribution that would be obtained if the faculty within the total population of 2,434 U.S. institutions were surveyed.[3]

Table 1 shows the population counts of the number and proportion of institutions with selected characteristics by the number and proportion of faculty who played an active role in campus protest incidents. Table 2 shows similar data for the number and proportion of faculty approving of student activism. A summary of the results from these tables is itemized below:

1. Faculty support of activism (in attitude and in behavior) is higher in universities than in either four-year or two-year colleges.
2. Faculty support of activism is generally lower in the technological colleges than in the remaining population of institutions; a greater proportion of liberal arts college faculty support activism.
3. Predominantly black institutions have a somewhat smaller number but a slightly higher proportion of faculty who support activism than do predominantly white institutions.
4. Roman Catholic and Protestant institutions show less faculty support of activism than do the private-nonsectarian institutions.
5. Faculty support of activism is generally lower in Southeastern and Midwestern institutions than in either Northeastern or Western schools.
6. The larger the institutional enrollment, the greater the faculty support of activism.
7. The higher the institutional quality (based on any of the four

[3] These population weights are derived by computing the ratio of institutions in the population to sample counts, within each stratification cell (see Bayer, 1970a). These weights were rounded to the nearest whole number and applied as a multiplier of the sample counts.

Table 1

Absolute and Proportionate Numbers of Faculty
Who Play an Active Protest Role, by Selected Institutional Characteristics
(Weighted national estimates for population of U.S. institutions)

| Institutional Variables | Number of Institutions With: | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Activist Faculty | | | | | | Proportion of Activist Faculty | | | | | |
| | 2 or Fewer | | 3 to 10 | | 11 or more | | 1% or less | | 1.1 to 4.0% | | 4.1% or more | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| LEVEL | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Two-year | 713 | 84.1 | 115 | 13.6 | 20 | 2.4 | 585 | 69.0 | 167 | 19.7 | 96 | 11.3 |
| Four-year | 663 | 52.0 | 403 | 31.6 | 209 | 16.4 | 293 | 23.0 | 311 | 24.4 | 671 | 52.6 |
| University | 17 | 5.5 | 43 | 13.8 | 251 | 80.7 | 17 | 5.5 | 81 | 26.0 | 213 | 68.5 |
| TYPE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Liberal Arts | 480 | 50.0 | 329 | 34.3 | 151 | 15.7 | 178 | 18.5 | 217 | 22.6 | 565 | 58.9 |
| Teachers College | 107 | 62.6 | 26 | 15.2 | 38 | 22.2 | 40 | 23.4 | 70 | 40.9 | 61 | 35.7 |
| Technological | 28 | 46.7 | 23 | 38.3 | 9 | 15.0 | 27 | 45.0 | 24 | 40.0 | 9 | 15.0 |
| RACE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Predominantly black | 49 | 50.0 | 42 | 42.9 | 7 | 7.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 42 | 42.9 | 56 | 57.1 |
| Predominantly white | 1,344 | 57.5 | 519 | 22.2 | 473 | 20.2 | 895 | 38.3 | 517 | 22.1 | 924 | 39.6 |
| CONTROL | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public | 592 | 51.3 | 249 | 21.6 | 314 | 27.2 | 393 | 34.0 | 362 | 31.3 | 400 | 34.6 |
| Private-nonsectarian | 278 | 52.1 | 132 | 24.7 | 124 | 23.2 | 152 | 28.5 | 95 | 17.8 | 287 | 53.7 |
| Catholic | 210 | 67.3 | 90 | 28.8 | 12 | 3.8 | 168 | 53.8 | 30 | 9.6 | 114 | 36.5 |
| Other sectarian (Protestant) | 313 | 72.3 | 90 | 20.8 | 30 | 6.9 | 182 | 42.0 | 72 | 16.6 | 179 | 41.3 |
| REGION | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Northeast | 369 | 56.2 | 128 | 19.5 | 160 | 24.4 | 204 | 31.1 | 149 | 22.7 | 304 | 46.3 |
| Southeast | 303 | 58.3 | 132 | 25.4 | 85 | 16.3 | 182 | 35.0 | 148 | 28.5 | 190 | 36.5 |
| Midwest | 512 | 65.7 | 176 | 22.6 | 91 | 11.7 | 349 | 44.8 | 158 | 20.3 | 272 | 34.9 |
| West | 209 | 43.7 | 125 | 26.2 | 144 | 30.1 | 160 | 33.5 | 104 | 21.8 | 214 | 44.8 |
| SIZE[a] | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 2,500 | 1,143 | 72.8 | 345 | 22.0 | 83 | 5.3 | 790 | 50.3 | 229 | 14.6 | 552 | 35.1 |
| 2,500 or more | 250 | 29.0 | 216 | 25.0 | 397 | 46.0 | 105 | 12.2 | 330 | 38.2 | 428 | 49.6 |
| STAFF | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 30% Ph.D.s | 1,088 | 73.0 | 306 | 20.5 | 97 | 6.5 | 780 | 52.3 | 349 | 23.4 | 362 | 24.3 |
| 30% or more Ph.D.s | 305 | 32.3 | 255 | 27.0 | 383 | 40.6 | 115 | 12.2 | 210 | 22.3 | 618 | 65.5 |
| NO. LIBRARY VOLUMES | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 60,000 | 1,105 | 80.6 | 242 | 17.7 | 24 | 1.8 | 775 | 56.5 | 254 | 18.5 | 342 | 24.9 |
| 60,000 or more | 288 | 27.1 | 319 | 30.0 | 456 | 42.9 | 120 | 11.3 | 305 | 28.7 | 638 | 60.0 |
| AFFLUENCE[b] | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under $2,000 | 964 | 73.5 | 218 | 16.6 | 130 | 9.9 | 710 | 54.1 | 303 | 23.1 | 299 | 22.8 |
| $2,000 or more | 429 | 38.2 | 343 | 30.6 | 350 | 31.2 | 185 | 16.5 | 256 | 22.8 | 681 | 60.7 |
| SELECTIVITY[c] | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 105 | 1,162 | 71.6 | 337 | 20.8 | 123 | 7.6 | 774 | 47.7 | 428 | 26.4 | 420 | 25.9 |
| 105 or more | 231 | 28.4 | 224 | 27.6 | 357 | 44.0 | 121 | 14.9 | 131 | 16.1 | 560 | 69.0 |
| TOTAL, ALL INSTITUTIONS | 1,393 | 57.2 | 561 | 23.0 | 480 | 19.7 | 895 | 36.8 | 559 | 23.0 | 980 | 40.3 |

[a]Total enrollment in 1967.

[b]Total revenues in dollars per student.

[c]Average academic aptitude test score (ACT, SAT, NMSQT) of enrolled entrants. All scores converted to equivalent NMSQT score.

Table 2

Absolute and Proportionate Numbers of Faculty Approving of the Emergence of Radical Activism, by Selected Institutional Characteristics (Weighted national estimates for population of U.S. institutions)

| Institutional Variables | Number of Institutions With: | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Faculty Approving | | | | | | Proportion of Faculty Approving | | | | | |
| | 10 or Fewer | | 11-50 | | 51 or more | | 25% or less | | 25.1-40.0% | | 40.1% or more | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| LEVEL | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Two-year | 446 | 52.6 | 390 | 46.0 | 12 | 1.4 | 212 | 25.0 | 464 | 54.7 | 172 | 20.3 |
| Four-year | 176 | 13.8 | 890 | 69.8 | 209 | 16.4 | 141 | 11.1 | 346 | 27.1 | 788 | 61.8 |
| University | 0 | 0.0 | 3 | 1.0 | 308 | 99.0 | 15 | 4.8 | 110 | 35.4 | 186 | 59.8 |
| TYPE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Liberal Arts | 123 | 12.8 | 723 | 75.3 | 114 | 11.9 | 74 | 7.7 | 232 | 24.2 | 654 | 68.1 |
| Teachers College | 8 | 4.7 | 99 | 57.9 | 64 | 37.4 | 8 | 4.7 | 71 | 41.5 | 92 | 53.8 |
| Technological | 8 | 13.3 | 32 | 53.3 | 20 | 33.3 | 29 | 48.3 | 14 | 23.3 | 17 | 28.3 |
| RACE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Predominantly black | 0 | 0.0 | 91 | 92.9 | 7 | 7.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 14 | 14.3 | 84 | 85.7 |
| Predominantly white | 622 | 26.6 | 1192 | 51.0 | 522 | 22.3 | 368 | 15.8 | 906 | 38.8 | 1062 | 45.5 |
| CONTROL | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public | 253 | 21.9 | 508 | 44.0 | 394 | 34.1 | 139 | 12.0 | 588 | 50.9 | 428 | 37.1 |
| Private-nonsectarian | 87 | 16.3 | 347 | 65.0 | 100 | 18.7 | 37 | 6.9 | 135 | 25.3 | 362 | 67.8 |
| Catholic | 122 | 39.1 | 177 | 56.7 | 13 | 4.2 | 49 | 15.7 | 114 | 36.5 | 149 | 47.8 |
| Other Sectarian (Protestant) | 160 | 37.0 | 251 | 58.0 | 22 | 5.1 | 143 | 33.0 | 83 | 19.2 | 207 | 47.8 |
| REGION | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Northeast | 172 | 26.2 | 332 | 50.5 | 153 | 23.3 | 79 | 12.0 | 231 | 35.2 | 347 | 52.8 |
| Southeast | 110 | 21.2 | 317 | 61.0 | 93 | 17.9 | 82 | 15.8 | 240 | 46.2 | 198 | 38.1 |
| Midwest | 253 | 32.5 | 410 | 52.6 | 116 | 14.9 | 115 | 14.8 | 274 | 35.2 | 390 | 50.1 |
| West | 87 | 18.2 | 224 | 46.9 | 167 | 34.9 | 92 | 19.2 | 175 | 36.6 | 211 | 44.1 |
| SIZE[a] | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 2,500 | 622 | 39.6 | 915 | 58.2 | 34 | 2.2 | 326 | 20.8 | 550 | 35.0 | 695 | 44.2 |
| 2,500 or more | 0 | 0.0 | 368 | 42.6 | 495 | 57.4 | 42 | 4.9 | 370 | 42.9 | 451 | 52.3 |
| STAFF | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 30% Ph.D.s | 563 | 37.8 | 839 | 56.3 | 89 | 6.0 | 324 | 21.7 | 621 | 41.6 | 546 | 36.6 |
| 30% or more Ph.D.s | 59 | 6.3 | 444 | 47.1 | 440 | 46.7 | 44 | 4.7 | 299 | 31.7 | 600 | 63.6 |
| NO. LIBRARY VOLUMES | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 60,000 | 613 | 44.7 | 744 | 54.3 | 14 | 1.0 | 325 | 23.7 | 607 | 44.3 | 439 | 32.0 |
| 60,000 or more | 9 | 0.8 | 539 | 50.7 | 515 | 48.4 | 43 | 4.0 | 313 | 29.4 | 707 | 66.5 |
| AFFLUENCE[b] | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under $2,000 | 528 | 40.2 | 635 | 48.4 | 149 | 11.4 | 272 | 20.7 | 617 | 47.0 | 423 | 32.2 |
| $2,000 or more | 94 | 8.4 | 648 | 57.8 | 380 | 33.9 | 96 | 8.6 | 303 | 27.0 | 723 | 64.4 |
| SELECTIVITY[c] | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 105 | 580 | 35.8 | 883 | 54.4 | 159 | 9.8 | 328 | 20.2 | 683 | 42.1 | 611 | 37.7 |
| 105 or more | 42 | 5.2 | 400 | 49.3 | 370 | 45.6 | 40 | 4.9 | 237 | 29.2 | 535 | 65.9 |
| TOTAL, ALL INSTITUTIONS | 622 | 25.6 | 1283 | 52.7 | 529 | 21.7 | 368 | 15.1 | 920 | 37.8 | 1146 | 47.1 |

[a] Total enrollment in 1967

[b] Total revenues in dollars per student.

[c] Average academic aptitude test score (ACT, SAT, NMSQT) of enrolled entrants. All scores converted to equivalent NMSQT scores.

measures: percent Ph.D.s on the faculty, number of volumes in the library, institutional revenues per student, and median student aptitude), the greater the faculty support of activism.

Table 3 provides a similar summary by presenting the correlations between the institutional variables and faculty measures, although it should be pointed out that such bivariate summarizations do not adequately reflect the substantial intercorrelations between certain of the institutional variables. Selectivity, for example, has a high positive correlation with the other measures of quality as well as with size, nonsectarian control, location in the Northeast, and university status; it is negatively related to being a two-year institution, predominantly black, located in the Southeast, and publicly controlled.

To provide a more accurate picture of the relationships, a series of stepwise multiple regression analyses were performed. Such procedures allow one to identify all institutional variables which contribute independently in reducing the residual sum of squares.

Faculty Activism

Of the 20 institutional variables, only three proved to be significant in predicting the absolute number of faculty who played an active role in a recent demonstration. As expected, the first predictor variable to enter the multiple regression equation was institutional size (Table 4). Second, university status entered as a strong positive predictor, independent of size. Third, institutional selectivity was related to the absolute number of active faculty. These three variables yield a multiple R of .63.

The proportion of faculty within an institution who play an active role is also significantly related to three of the 20 institutional variables. However, institutional size and being a university drop out of the equation,

Table 3

Zero-order Correlations of Institutional Administrative Characteristics with Faculty Variables[a]

| Institutional Variables | Number of faculty playing active role | Percent of faculty playing active role | Number of faculty approving of activism | Percent of faculty approving of activism |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Level | | | | |
| Two-year | -.18 | -.28 | -.22 | -.38 |
| Four-year | -.38 | .08 | -.47 | .23 |
| University | .57 | .13 | .70 | .04 |
| Type | | | | |
| Liberal arts | -.30 | .18 | -.39 | .32 |
| Teachers colleges | -.07 | -.10 | -.07 | -.03 |
| Technological | -.07 | -.13 | -.04 | -.15 |
| Race (predominantly black) | -.08 | .01 | -.08 | .18 |
| Control | | | | |
| Public | .29 | -.08 | .35 | -.22 |
| Private-nonsectarian | -.05 | .20 | -.06 | .30 |
| Roman Catholic | -.16 | -.07 | -.19 | .04 |
| Other sectarian (Protestant) | -.16 | -.07 | -.20 | -.12 |
| Region | | | | |
| Northeast | -.02 | .10 | -.03 | .14 |
| Southeast | -.01 | -.07 | -.09 | -.10 |
| Midwest | -.02 | -.09 | .04 | -.03 |
| West | .05 | .06 | .07 | -.03 |
| Size (enrollment) | .59 | .15 | .72 | .03 |
| Staff (percent Ph.D.s) | .33 | .31 | .41 | .39 |
| Library (number of volumes) | .44 | .32 | .54 | .32 |
| Affluence (revenue per student) | .23 | .26 | .29 | .34 |
| Selectivity (median student aptitude) | .26 | .33 | .31 | .38 |

[a]In the case of dichotomous variables, the r's in the table are point-biserials.
$r \geq .11 (p < .05)$
$r \geq .15 (p < .01)$

Table 4

Institutional Variables Predicting the Absolute Number of Faculty Activists

| Step Number | Independent Variable Entering Equation | Sign | $R$ | Increase in $R^2$ | $F$ value* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | To enter equation | In final equation |
| 1 | Size | + | .587 | .344 | 157.0 | 31.1 |
| 2 | University | + | .625 | .046 | 22.6 | 19.6 |
| 3 | Selectivity | + | .633 | .011 | 5.3 | 5.3 |

*$F_{.05} = 3.9$; $F_{.01} = 6.7$; $F_{.001} = 11.1$

and selectivity remains and enters as the highest correlate of this criterion (Table 5). The second variable entering the equation has to do with college type: being a technological college has a strong negative relationship with the criterion, after control for institutional selectivity. Finally, predominantly black institutions enter (positively) and, in combination with the preceding variables, yields a multiple R of .40.

Faculty Approval of Student Activism

Twice as many institutional variables enter the prediction equations for the faculty approval measures as entered for the faculty activism variables, partly because of the higher base rates of the former. Additionally, the multiple Rs for the comparable equations are higher in the case of the faculty approval variables.

As with the analyses shown in Table 4, the first three variables predicting the absolute number of faculty approving activism are size, university level, and selectivity (Table 6). In addition, three other variables -- location in the Midwest, public control, and affluence -- all enter as significant and, in combination, increases the multiple R to .79. That Midwestern location has a positive relationship with the criterion is a finding that is not only new (previous research on campus unrest unearthed no such connection) but also surprising in view of the American myth about the Midwest as the center of American conservatism. Evidently, contrary to the folklore, the "heartland of the U.S." does contain the potential for substantial campus activism -- at least if the absolute numbers of faculty approving of activism is any indicator -- once regional differences in institutional size, level, and selectivity are considered.

The variables associated with the proportion of faculty approving activism are somewhat different. The percent of Ph.D.s on the staff is most

Table 5

Institutional Variables Predicting the Proportion of Faculty Activists

| Step Number | Independent Variable Entering Equation | Sign | $\underline{R}$ | Increase in $\underline{R}^2$ | $\underline{F}$ value* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | To enter equation | In final equation |
| 1 | Selectivity | + | .329 | .108 | 36.4 | 52.4 |
| 2 | Technological | - | .386 | .040 | 14.2 | 14.7 |
| 3 | Race | + | .405 | .015 | 5.3 | 5.3 |

*$\underline{F}_{.05} = 3.9$; $\underline{F}_{.01} = 6.7$; $\underline{F}_{.001} = 11.1$

Table 6

Institutional Variables Predicting the Absolute Number of Faculty Approving Student Activism

| Step Number | Independent Variable Entering Equation | Sign | R | Increase in $R^2$ | F value* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | To enter equation | In final equation |
| 1 | Size | + | .720 | .518 | 321.8 | 38.3 |
| 2 | University | + | .768 | .071 | 51.6 | 44.2 |
| 3 | Selectivity | + | .777 | .014 | 10.7 | 8.1 |
| 4 | Midwest | + | .783 | .009 | 7.0 | 9.7 |
| 5 | Public | + | .787 | .006 | 4.7 | 6.7 |
| 6 | Affluence | + | .790 | .006 | 4.5 | 4.5 |

*$F_{.05} = 3.9$; $F_{.01} = 6.7$; $F_{.001} = 11.1$

highly correlated with the percent of faculty within the institution who endorse activism (Table 7). Institutions which emphasize liberal arts, those which are under private-nonsectarian control, and those which are predominantly black have relatively high proportions of faculty who approve of student activism; institutions located in the Southeast and technological institutions, on the other hand, have relatively low proportions. As with all previous analyses, institutional selectivity again contributes a positive weight in the prediction equation. The resulting multiple R produced in the prediction of the percent of faculty approving activism is .61.

## Discussion

In summary, many of the same institutional variables previously found to be associated with the concentration of activist students and with the incidence of campus unrest are associated with the absolute and proportionate numbers of faculty who are active in campus unrest or who approve of student activism. Dominant among these variables is selectivity; clearly, more thorough research is needed into the institutional environments of the "elitist" or "high quality" institutions, which are characterized by stiff admissions policies and (consequently) highly able student bodies.

Previous studies which have noted the relationship between institutional selectivity and unrest have offered two kinds of interpretations, both involving students. First, highly selective institutions attract students who are more intellectual and are therefore presumed to be more aware and concerned with political issues and with social problems. Second, highly selective institutions bring together highly able students in a situation in which they have strong academic competition for the first time. The resulting frustration is considered to be channeled into activist behavior. The current data

Table 7

Institutional Variables Predicting the Proportion of Faculty Approving Student Activism

| Step Number | Independent Variable Entering Equation | Sign | $R$ | Increase in $R^2$ | $F$ value* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | To enter equation | In final equation |
| 1 | Percent Ph.D. | + | .391 | .153 | 53.8 | 6.3 |
| 2 | Liberal Arts | + | .475 | .073 | 28.0 | 11.8 |
| 3 | Private-nonsectarian | + | .511 | .036 | 14.4 | 5.0 |
| 4 | Race | + | .539 | .029 | 12.2 | 32.7 |
| 5 | Southeast | - | .567 | .030 | 13.2 | 11.1 |
| 6 | Selectivity | + | .584 | .020 | 8.8 | 15.7 |
| 7 | Technological | - | .607 | .026 | 12.8 | 12.8 |

*$F_{.05} = 3.9$; $F_{.01} = 6.7$; $F_{.001} = 11.1$

suggest a third interpretation: highly selective institutions tend to attract and recruit faculty who are supportive of campus activism (both in attitude and behavior) and who may, therefore, provide a climate in which student activism is stimulated. It is likely that all three of these processes contribute to more unrest at the higher quality institutions.

A second measure of institutional quality -- the percent Ph.D.s on the staff -- also entered the predictive equation for faculty approval of student activism. This variable -- a more direct measure of staff rather than student quality -- has also been related to the incidence of unrest (Hodgkinson, 1970). This result, therefore, suggests that faculty may play a series of interactive roles in campus unrest. First, high quality faculty offer significant approval to the emergence of activism. Second, these faculty are more likely to be in settings which attract graduate students, who may provide leadership and support to campus unrest and protest. Third, high quality faculty tend to be more oriented to their profession and to research rather than to their institution, to teaching, and to their students. Indeed, there is a negative relationship between students' assessments of the degree of concern for the individual at their institution and the degree of faculty quality as measured on the traditional bases of degree level, the "name" of the institution awarding the degree, currency with one's field, research activity, and number of publications (Bayer, 1970b). The result is the possible creation of an institutional environment wherein there is little regard for individualized attention to students, a lack of involvement in the classroom, an absence of student-teacher contact, and little subjective cohesiveness among those in the academic community -- all of which have been shown to be related to the incidence of unrest (Astin and Bayer, 1971).

With respect to the absolute numbers of faculty who either actively participate in campus unrest or express approval of student activism, size (not surprisingly) is the strongest correlate. University status and selectivity are the next most potent predictors, after control for size. But when we consider proportion of faculty, the picture changes: although the institution's selectivity remains an important predictor, its being a university drops out of the equation completely. What makes this finding particularly striking is that previous research has indicated that campus unrest is far more likely to occur at universities than at two-year or four-year institutions. Apparently, we must now add the qualification that universities do not have an inordinate concentration of activist faculty types, once other institutional differences are taken into account. In short, the "critical mass" hypothesis seems to have more validity than the "saturation" hypothesis: If, indeed, faculty play some instrumental role in promoting campus unrest, then it may be necessary to have only a relatively small number of faculty, but large enough to form a critical mass, rather than a large proportion.

The other rather startling finding -- that Midwestern location has a higher absolute number of faculty approving of campus activism than would be expected on the basis of the characteristics of institutions in that section of the country -- may furnish a clue to the future course of unrest nationally. If it is correct to presume that faculty approval in some way contributes to the emergence of campus unrest, then it would appear that the earlier protest incidents in this section of the country were not anomolies as is generally supposed; indeed, it may be that these events were a harbinger of more campus protest in this region. In contrast to the Midwest, the Southeast, which also enters one of the equations, remains negatively related to the criterion, after control for other institutional characteristics which may partially

explain regional differences in the incidence of unrest. If we again assume that faculty may play some catalytic or instrumental role, then it is likely that the Southeast will continue to have relatively less unrest than most other regions of the country.

The data presented in this paper tend to support the common presumption that there is some connection between student activism, faculty support of the activist movement, and incidence of campus protest. A number of institutional characteristics associated with faculty attitudes and behavior with respect to campus activism are the same as those associated with protest incidence, independent of student attributes. Assuming that these institutional characteristics have no direct causative effect, and that their relationship with the incidence of campus unrest cannot be explained solely by the type of students that the institutions attract, the link may be the type of faculty attracted to and recruited by these institutions.

Future analyses, employing the ACE model for research on campus unrest, will incorporate additional faculty data, study the interaction of faculty variables with student attributes and with administrative characteristics, and relate all these variables, as they constitute the institutional environment, to the incidence and severity of campus unrest. If it is shown that the faculty has a significant effect on campus unrest, further analyses will be undertaken to test the "critical mass" and the "saturation" hypotheses. That is, does a small absolute number of "core" faculty contribute to the emergence of campus unrest, or is campus unrest positively and linearly related to the extent of widespread faculty support of campus activism?

In conclusion, this paper has been concerned with the question of what, if any, institutional characteristics are associated with faculty activism; the implication here is that some institutions attract, recruit, retain, and

encourage faculty who are themselves activists or who approve of activism. Its converse is that other institutions attract or recruit faculty who are more conservative or passive and, if by some chance more liberal and activist faculty are employed, they are ineffectual in fostering activism, or they do not stay at the institution very long, or they either change their attitudes somewhat or suppress them. The results suggest that further research should be done on the following questions:

1. What personal and professional attributes of faculty are associated with activist attitudes and behavior?
2. How do faculty with "activist traits" become affiliated with particular types of institutions?
3. How do they affect the institutional environments at these colleges?
4. How do these faculty traits interact with student traits to produce institutional environments which are conducive to campus unrest?
5. How are these institutional environments which are created by the dynamic relationship between students and faculty related to institutional type, location, and quality?
6. If faculty do play a major role in fostering incidents of campus unrest, are only a few such individuals necessary and sufficient to form a "critical mass" giving rise to protest incidents, or is the incidence and severity of protest more directly linked to the ethos created by the proportionate degree of faculty support and involvement within an institution?
7. How do faculty attributes and faculty support of activism tend to alter the course of unrest or mediate the impact of campus unrest on institutional policy and environment?

Several of these questions are currently under investigation through the

ACE research program. Additional work is being done on other aspects of campus unrest, particularly on the role played by students, administrators, trustees, and off-campus persons, and on the impact of other exogeneous factors, such as the local community, the news media, state legislative policy, and national policy programs.

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